## THE CLARION.

SPEECH

OF

## Hon. James Z. George,

On the Civil Service Reform.

MR. GEORGE said:

Mr. PRESIDENT-I think that this bill is the inauguration of a most important and necessary reform. The ills momentous character, affecting deeply the purity of administration and even threatening the stability of our free institutions. It proposes to overthrow the dangerous and corrupting system which has for its legend "To the victors belong the spoils," which holds the public of the spoils," which holds the public of the spoils," which holds the public of the series of controlling elections was, if not open the graph and proper the purity of administration and even threatening the stability of our free institutions. It proposes to overthrow the dangerous and corrupting system which has for its legend "To the victors belong the spoils," which holds the public of the series of the seri has for its legend "To the victors belong the spoils," which holds the public offices, the great and high trust which the people have committed to their servants for the common good of all, as the property of a successful party by right of conquest, to quote a phrase from Mr Webster, and which treats the defeated, frequently one-half the American people, as unworthy to participate in the administration of the common government. This system is based on the patronage of the Executive Department, which wise and good men in days past considered as fraught with so much of evil to our country. Mr. Calhoun, in his report on the extent of executive patronage, made February 9, 1835, said that patronage at best was but a neces sary evil, and that its tendency, where it is not effectually checked and regulated, is to debase and corrupt the communi-ty." (Volume 5, page 156 of his works.)

And in the same report, speaking of the increasing dangers from this source as the country increased in size and population, he said:

If to this difficulty, resulting from num-bers and extent only, there be added others of a most formitable character--the greater capacity, in proportion, on the part of the Government, in large communities, to seize Government, in large communities, to seize on and corrupt all the organs of public opinion, and thus to delude and impose on the people, the greater tendency in such communities to the formation of parties on local and separate interests, resting on opposing and conflicting principles, and who were employing the pating on opposing and conflicting principles, and influence of their offices with separate and rival leaders at the head of each, and great difficulty of combining such parties in any system of resistance against the common danger from the Gov-erument—some conception may be formed of the vast superiority which that organized and central party, consisting of office-holders and office-seekers, with their holders to give a vote at an election but uating power in their own ranks, must have in such a country as ours over the people—a superiority so decisive that it may be safe in greated that whenever the patronage and influence of the Government are sufficiently asserted that whenever the patronage of from such a superiority which elected him, a just participat word form such a superiority which elected him, a just participat word form such a superiority which elected him, a just participat word form such a superiority which elected him, a just participat word form such a superiority which elected him, a just participat word form such a superiority which elected him, a just participat word form such a superiority which elected him, a just participat word in the administration, and that when were the power in the very midst ingreated with such a such a country as ours over the people. And in his answer to the remonstrance of the merchants of New Haven, dated July 12, 1891 (volume V of his works, page 402), he declares that his motive for making removals at all was to secure the protecting folds of its mantle around the protein folds of its mantle around fidelity to the people. It there be a failure to receive promotion it will be considered as a slight and all swill be considered as a slight and a slight and a surface. Moreover, the provision seems not fully to accord with what I consider the protein folds of its mantle around the protein fold try, it must be apparent how fatal would be the assumption, if acted on, that patronage and influence should increase in the same proportion; and how infinitely dangerous has been the tendency of our affairs of late, when as has been shown, instead of increas ing simply in the same proportion they have advanced with a rapidity more than double. So far is the uption from being true, if mation of our institutions we regard t ion of our liberty, we must and the pres hold it as a adamental maxim that the -vernment should, with our action of the instead of a extense: a maxim resting cep and irreversible, and on principles which can not be vio ated without ineviable destruction. Moderation in the action of this Government-the great central power of our system-is, in fact, the condition on which our political existence decontorns to the principle which divine wisdom has impressed upon the beautiful and sublime system of which our globe is a part and in which the great mass that gives ife and harmony and action to the whole

reposes almost motionless in the center. And in the same report, in speaking of removals from office on partisan grounds, he said:

Nor will it require much reflection to perceive in what manner it contributes to in-crease so vastly the extent of Executive

So long as offices were considered as publie trusts, to be conferred on the honest and faithful and capable, for the common good, and not for the benefit or gain of the induties, its patronage, in point of fact, was limited to the mere power of nowinating to secidental vacancies or to newly created offices, and could, of course, exercise but a corrupt moderate influence either over the body of ample. the community or of the office-holders themselves; but when this practice was reversed —when offices, instead of being considered as public trusts, to be conferred on the as public trusts, to be conterred on the deserving, were regarded as the spoils of viotory, to be begrowed as rewards for para a public trust, not the private possession dard; that this bill with its high-sound-the use of public offices to thwart or contisan services without respect to merit, when it came to be understood that all who held office hold by the tenure of partisan zeal and party service, it is easy to see that the certain, direct, and inevitable tendency of such a state of things is to convert the entire body of those in office into corrupt and supple instruments of power, and to raise up a host of hungry, greedy, and subservient partisans, ready for every service, however base and corrupt. Were a premium offered for the best means of extending to the utmost the power of patron age; to destroy the love of country, and to substitute a spirit of subserviency and manvorship; to encourage vice and discourage virtue; and, in a word, to prepare for the subversion of liberty, and the establishment of despotism, no scheme more perfect could be devised; and such must be the tendency of the practice, with whatever intention adopted or to whatever extent pur-

These are wise words, and seem to 1832, he said:

principle of claiming a monopoly of office by right of conquest, unless the public shall effectually rebuke and restrain it, will entirely change the character of our Government. It elevates party above country; it forgets the common weal in the pursuit of personal emolument; it tends to form, it does form, we see that it has formed, a political com-bination, united by no common principle or cpinions among its members either upon the powers of the Government or the true policy of the country, but held together simply as an association, under the charm of a popular head, seeking to maintain possession of the Government by a vigorous exercise of its patronage; and for this pur-pose agitating and alarming and distressing social life by the exercise of a tyranulcal party proscription. Sir, if this course of things can not be be checked good men will grow tired of the exercise of political privileges. They will have nothing to with popular elections. They will see that the sight and privileges are the sight and proper with the special seeds and the sight and proper which in the supplier in the same time, and, at the same time, a

sir, is the judgment of two of the greatest statesmen and profoundest political philosophers who ever adorned the annals of this or of any other country. Differing as they did widely, fundamentally in their political creeds, opposed as seeks to remedy. Sir, we have forgotten the lessons which they taught.

For nearly twenty years this system of political proscription has had such force and energy as it never had before in American history. In the early days of the Republic it was not wholly unknown. But, sir, it was known only to be condefined. When practiced it was always with a disclaimer that proscription was meant. Mr. Jefferson, on his accession to the Presidency in 1801, complained that he found that his friends had been sedulously excluded from all participation in governmental affairs. He devocacy of this measure, and I gave him nounced this as wrong, and proceeded the assurance of my earnest sympathy to correct the evil, not by an indiscrim- and support in many anxious conferinate removal of his enemies, but by ences on this subject. So, sir, I have no filling vacancies and making others to new-born zeal in my present support of be filled by removing maladministra- this measure. I have only more hope, tors, incompetents, and others who while more faith in its success, more faith in against the measures of his government. He declared in a letter to John Page, dated July 17, 1807, (volume V. of his works, page 136), that he had never removed a man merely because he was a

candidate shall be, Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution."

How far the recent practice of the is known to every one. None are appointed to office (or, if any, very few) who being of another party have bargained their influence and support to destroy the party to which they professed allegiance. Place and patronage have y become more moderate been openly and shamelessly tendered as the price not only of conversion but even of co-operation in elections. The political leaders for the purpose of enabling them to make war on their rivals, and of crushing all independence in pends; and in acting in conformity it but thought and action even in those who are adherents of the party in power, Servility to that faction of the Republican party to which a President belongs has been the exaction demanded of those who aspired either to receive office or influence its bestowal. Officers without duties, agents without employment, both with high salaries paid from the people's money, have been appointed for the sole purpose of organizing conventions, selecting candidates, and controling elections. Other officers have been removed and their places filled by men charged with similar work. In short, sir, the whole civil service of the country has been debauched by a wicked and uncumbent or his party, and so long as it was the practice of the Government to continue in office those who faithfully performed their conficult soulling. Salaries and official soullings. cumbents in doing the dirty work of who may be tempted to do the same political scullions. Salaries and official gains have been augmented in order that the fund out of which assessments for corruption could be paid should be

The awakened conscience of the people is tired of this. The people demand reform-complete, thorough, radical reand emolument of the incumbent. They ing preamble is but a donatio causa mortis, trol the public will. No administration, demand that the service shall be purified fact what in law they are, public sering to the people, created by them for shall be for their good, not to subscrve merely the interest of a party. This demand, too, has been made in no doubtneaning of the recent great popular upshattered the Republican party, must be blind indeed.

And sir, who can resist this demand? Certainly, sir, the Democratic party of its provisions. But I think the judghave been inspired by a prophetic in- neither can nor ought to resist it. Do sight into the present condition of our Senators think that all this means nothcountry. It will be well that we give ing-the mere effect of the changeful port of this bill without help from any heed to them. Mr. Webster was no less moods of a fickle and inconsistent pop-emphatic in his denunciation of this ulace; that the change demanded is the system. In his speech at the National mere swapping of one hungry brood of can Senators, since for the want of such Convention at Worcester, October 12, corrupt cormorants for another; that support they have suffered so seriously. mere swapping of one hungry brood of can Senators, since for the want of such corrupt cormorants for another; that support they have suffered so seriously. people, tired of Republican corruption And there is equal reason for its supand profligacy, only desire to give the port by Senators on this side of the this provision, and many against. It in-

obedience on the part of their servants I cannot see, sir, that two wrongs can

other cause a change has come over the sins of our opponents by way of recoupspirit of the dreams of many in reference ment or set-off. By such a course we to this subject. Whatever may be only prove our equal unfitness for the the cause, the change is salutary to the great duties and high trusts to which last degree. If rejoice that now the race seems to be as to who shall go ahead, who shall go furthest in the denunciation of the political practices and methods which this bill seeks to cradicate. ods which this bill seeks to eradicate. would degenerate into a mere rivalry in without this the whole scheme will fail,) of and it was not regarded as formidable To quote from the letter of Mr. Jefferson enough, either in the vigor of its pro- read by the Senator from Georgia (Mr. visions or active opposition. I am not Brown), "I shall (would) take no other sure, sir, but that my honorable friend, the Senator from Ohio, (Mr. Pendleton) economy and peace, and by the establishthe author of the bill was not regarded ment of Democratic "principles in subeither as insincere in his advocacy of stance and in form sink" the Repubimportant questions which were agitated in their day, they were in hearty accord in denouncing the evils which this bill changed. The levy of political assessments is regarded, if not as a great crime, the hands of malefactors equally depray- greater facility in turning to old records, at all events it is looked on as even ed, or by the like criminal methods it books, and papers; in other words, a more worse in the politician's creed, namely, as a serious blunder. And more, sir, we ty whose sole inspiration shall be to reas a serious blunder. And more, sir, we seem at last to have arrived, with singular unanmity, at the conclusion that a monopoly of office by the party by right of conquest at the polls, as Mr. Webster called it, is not the safest and surest ty whose sole inspiration shall be to respect to the high powers intrusted to it by the people, solely for the people's good. Such a party I hope the country will find in the Democratic party if only with the people. It will prevent that service from sympathy and communion in the beginning of the Game and corruption which will secrifice. It will separate the civil service from sympathy and communion in the beginning of the Game and corruption which will service from sympathy and communion in the beginning of the Game and corruption which will service from sympathy and communion in the beginning of the Game and corruption which will be purchased, as I believe, at a great mitroduces a price will be purchased, as I believe, at a great introduces a price will be purchased, as I believe, at a great will be and through the same and through the will be will be a great will be and the purchased and through the will be a

means of retaining power. At the beginning of my service in this body I placed myself fully and unequivocally by the side of the honorable Senvocacy of this measure, and I gave him in office were guilty of electioneering activity or open and industrious oppositivity or open and industrious oppositivity of open and industrious oppositivity of electioneering activity or open and industrious oppositivity of electioneering activity or open and industrious oppositivity or open and industrious oppositivity or open and industrious oppositivity of electioneering activities activi methods however strongly intrenched, will before it is too late, be corrected by the good sense and patrotism of the I deny that this interprets aright the Dem-American people.

The Republican party on this floor seem to have caught something of the meaning of the recent elections. The President has not been unmindful of plunder. their grand lessons. Whether the conversion be genuine or not I leave to the

over liberty—must increase proportionately when the only questions concerning a with the growth and population of our councillates shall be. Is he honest? Is he groans of the poor women and laborers whose property, whose livelihood even had been taken to swell the corruption fund; while yet was dripping from the Administration has departed from this political guilotine the blood of the innocents who had been slaughtered to make for existence than the gaining of power for vacancies to be filled by their favorites who are not of the party in power, or and followers, the blow fell and the conversion came. We see now this extraordinary spectacle, that the President and and other States to tempt its members from the Republican leaders have been so thoroughly convicted of the sin of politi- How few have yielded to the temptation cal proscription and the levy of political assessments that they come to Congress | cial pottage. on the very first day of the session and bestowal of office has been farmed out to demand the speedy passage of a law to as it did in 1876, when led by its greatest have revelled for so many long and joyous years of their prosperity and power.

The demand, I admit, is a little extra- woe to the vanquished." ordinary. It is very much like a criminal, in the daily practice of committing wrong, asking that a law be passed to arrest him in his course. He admits the wrong he does; he denounces it; yet professes his inability to reform without the sanction of a statute. That is their position, sir, singular as it may be. W. have the spectacle of a great party sudand its crimes, confessing its sins, yet also rity be left to the good faith and sound

But, sir, the Senator from Georgia Mr. Brown] seems to think that this bill is a sham, a pretence, a mere contrivance to delude the people, and yet at the same time efficient enough to keep the people's condemnation of the evils and the Democrats from office when the hap-crimes it forbids. It is a plain direction py year of 1884 shall come and vic- and command to the Administration that or a legacy in the last will and testa- no party is strong enough to defy succesthat the incumbents should be in ment of the moribund Republican party fully the public voice thus expressed. The by which the offices now possessed by vants, servants to do faithfully the work them shall be transmitted by their sorprescribed for them. They demand rowing and stricken followers when the prefer country to party, and weaken those that appointments to the offices belong party shall be no more, and for that reason he would defeat it. Whatever their own good and salaried by them, may be the intent of its Republican supporters I am certain, sir, that will not be its effect. If such were its effect I should certainly refuse it my support. ful or uncertain terms. The man or the The whole scheme of the bill requires party who cannot understand the true that appointments to and retention in office shall be on the basis of merit alone. heaval, who cannot interpret aright This scheme would be defeated if inthe voiced thunder which has riven and cumbents selected in disregard of this test were not dismissed. There is nothing in the bill which requires the retention of an officer appointed in violation ment of that Senator is too harsh. I am sure, sir, there is just cause for the supunworthy motive, and surely sir, there is good reason for its support by Republi-

I am glad, sir, that from this or some free institutions by pleading the like the teachings of its most illustrious

> Mr. President, the speech of the honorable Senator from Georgia leads me to make some further observations on this part of the subject. The Senator seemed to think that if this bill passed there would be no salvation for the Democratic party; that it would turn into defeat the confidently anticipated victory of 1884. He seemed to think there would be no rallying to our banners if upon them was not inscribed the corrupting and demoralizing sentiment: "To the victors belong the spoils," or "Come all ye that are hungry and eat without money and without price. ocratic sentiment of this country; I deny, sir, that the Democratic party is an association without principles, held together only by the cohesive power of public

It had its birth with the Constitution, which cannot survive its dissolution. In

One of these was the practice in some de gree of the very system which this bill seeks to put down. For more than a generation it has not had power, yet in those long years it has retained its organization and its vitality. If it had no other motive the sake of the spoils it would long since have been extinct. For several years past the spoils system has been used in my own their allegiance, yet how few have fallen. and sold their birthright for a mess of offi-

Sir, it will go into the contest of 1884, omy in administration," and not under the miserable battle-cry "booty for the victors,

Mr. President, I have said, sir, that this reform of the civil-service and purification of political methods are demanded by the ople. When they speak it is our duty to listen and obey

The object of this bill is to enforce this demand and secure this purification.

It may not be all that is necessary, may even prove in the hands of a faithss and corrupt administration wholly denly seized with remorse for its errors inefficient. Where so much must necessa professing its inability to reform without discretion of the Administration, no law the aid of a penal statute and the whole- can be made efficient without an honest some fear of the penitentiary. I pro- and fair execution. But if its provisions pose to give this aid and to produce this be evaded, if its spirit be perverted, there vided for a life tenure in office. This is an being able to supply fear, not only in them, but in all others remains still a remedy, the right of the people to choose an administration in sympathy with its provisions. The law, however, even if evaded, will do great good. As I said on a former occasion, it embodies, incarnates in the shape of a public statute, the healthy, honest sentiment statute will strengthen the hands of those who desire a pure administration, who who would pervert the Administration to mere party ends.

But it is said, sir, the statute is unnecessary if the administration desire reform, that there is no compulsion now to pursue these methods, and that all these evils may be corrected by the President without the enactment of this statute. This is true in the main, sir, but the Administration does from office, and with the temptation connot correct these evils, but tolerates, if it tinually held out to him to abuse it, it will does not encourage them. It asks us to at last be found necessary to remit to the peobind its hands so as to prevent its doing ple their undoubted right to select their wrong; to shackle it so it may not do injus- own officers. That they will do it better, I am in favor of affording these shackles.

Mr. President, there are one or two amendments, which in my judgment should be made to the bill. In the first place, I regard it as a serious if not insurmountable merits. To sustain this view I quote from objection that it requires all original appointments to office to be made in the low- to: for a higher one. I see no just reason for

people mean to have a purified administration. They mean to have respect and we would decline to follow. to their interests and their will, not sub-serviency to the party in power.

make right. We cannot justify our sins against the Constitution and against service. If it be a good thing; if it be, and good fortune to secure an appointment, it is no injustice that this good fortune shall at least be not made better. There will intending to reject always be in this country, I hope, many more who are competent to fill these offices

> the great mass of the people, with special and peculiar rights and privileges. It will tend to prevent any service in these offices except by those who mean to make office-holding the business of their lives. Such a system may produce possibly a greater manual dexterity in the discharge of official duties and a more ready knowledge of the mere details of an office, a has so long practiced, but only by a par-ty whose sole inspiration shall be to re-working of office; but, sir, this advantage dent and introduces a prawill und in the Democratic party it only spirit, so necessary in officials, which all appointments under makes them feel that they are a part of even obliges them to set at the people-their servants only.

Another objection is that, it being settled that all who can enter the higher grades, it will come to be considered that the lowest grade is but the preparatory school for the higher grades, and this will produce the property of the higher grades. The same produce the preparatory school for the higher grades, and this will produce the preparatory school for the higher grades. two serious results. First, the examiners all executive directories sinks of corruption and factories will give certificates only to those who shall show a capability for advancement, thus excluding altogether from the lowest grade of the public service for which they are entirely competent for the higher positions. This is unjust. Every citizen has to it. a right to have his claims for a particular office considered without reference to his possible capacity for another and different one. Second, their appointees in the lowest grade will, under this practice, consider their employment in that grade as purely educational, purely probationary.
They will have no heart for and take no it by its great seal, well pride in the work assigned them. They will continually look for the good day be briefer, and answer when they are to be promoted. Should There is a vigorous arm with

sive favorites of fortune.

this provision by the Senator from Georgia, which was well calculated to produce the impression that it was contrived for the purpose of retaining in office all the appointees of the party in power, that the friends of the measure will consent to an amendment. It was well said by the Senator from Massachusetts that it was e - It is a very common en sential to any scheme of reform that it think that armed to embel should have the support of both parties in this country. I trust therefore, that the friends of the bill will consent to such appropriate. This can be amendments as will secure it against just yourself supplied with a criticism; that it may not operate for the benefit of one party to the detriment of which will beautify the another. The reasons which I have urged them from the ravages of the control prevent them from lapsing again into the captain since Jefferson, with its slogan in favor of the amendment seems to be post contains no acids of conclusive. I shall vote for it. If it is carried, I shall be gratified; if the provis- of rare and antiseptic be ion in question shall not in practice have the effect which I apprehend, I will also be gratifed. If it shall have that effect, the bill can be amended. There are two years yet of this Administration remaining. That will be time enough to show the workings of the scheme and the disposition of the party in power to give it fair trial. It it shall be found that it works badly, it can be amended whenever needed. If it shall be found that its provisions are evaded or perverted to party ends, there remains the power to amend and the power to put in office those who

I trust, sir, after the assault made on

will give it a fair operation. Mr. President, it was objected by the error. It does not provide for removals, place. I could name in The matter is left exactly where the Constitution leaves it. It is not in the power the family, are nearer if of Congress to take away from the Presi- Still, the mother trudges dent his right to remove any more than to daily along with her l take away his right to appoint. The one power is an incident of the other, and they are inseparably united. How long an appointee shall remain in office must, therefore, necessarily depend on the dis-cretion and judgment of the appointing power where the Constitution has placed it. The Constitution may be wrong, but

until it is amended we must obey it. I own, sir, I deem its amendment on the subject of the appointment to office as measure greatly needed. Accordingly, I had the honor to introduce at the last session a resolution providing for an amendment giving the election of all Federal grown old enough to officers having a local jurisdiction to the people of the locality in which each exer- ployment, and is much cised his powers. I do not intend to discuss that amendment now; but I trust I domestic service, on a shall be pardoned for saying that with the greater freedom and be large discretion given the President with smart young weaver at a reference to appropriate the president with smart young weaver at a second control of the president with smart young weaver at a second control of the president with smart young weaver at a second control of the president with smart young weaver at a second control of the president with smart young weaver at a second control of the president with the pre reference to appointments and removals more wisely than can be done by the President, I have no doubt.

merits. To sustain this view I quote from the report of Mr. Calhoun before alluded

As connected with this portion of the inquiry, your committee cannot avoid adverting to the practice similar in its character thorities. The application tendency, growing out of the act of sion have recently hand

four years. The of more faithful perform ing re-appointments in committee, defeated the and, at the same time, al

Faithful performance at to the most worthy, whether they be found in official or in private life.

Again, this method tends to produce an and subserviency by with official caste, separate and distinct from official caste, separate with special

> I also read an extree Mr. Jefferson to Mr. November 29, 1820, vol page 190, in which, speak law, he says:

This is a sample of the fa pect from the late mischene every four years nearly all tion. It will keep in co

I commend these extract from Georgia, and all such a provision. They argument, and I shall not

A Modest Sugg

If the proud and scholarh

sachusetts, which puts som every official State document design for the seal of some

HAVE used Parker's Gi successfully for coughs plaints to dread them.-B

them to a ripe old age is splendid dentifrice, Franchich will beautify the to a beneficial effect on the the mouth. Sold by drug

Married Women in En

Married women seld

saking the mill while the creasing, unless, indeed, little children-who me altogether without some care of them—should be make it as cheap to stay pay a substitute, and the release is from some of the where the aggregate year grown-up sons and d other day, in my passed called on a woman win daughter from dyspersion mon ailment among the mill hands-and in the versation it came out the 48, (of which 40 had be mill) and that the death disappointed a longeh release from her life which was a more indeated. which was now inde until at least a little The mill is the unfailing female portion of the smart young weaver at expert enough to esta week, besides having Sundays all to herself. hunters in the better e the "lass" with the deft hand to earn hig

Girton College, the Cambridge University about to be enlarged, the new buildings have

boy with the cake,

friends, anxious to be more familiar footing